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中华人民共和国杂志选译

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 889
September 20, 1976

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Historical Research)

Page

Shang Hsien T'ang and the Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius - by Li Tsung-i, Tseng Yeh-ying and Cheng Tse-min 1

Early Tsarist Russian Aggression Against Our Western Regions - by Hsi Ta 13

Anti-Russian Struggle by Workers of 36 Sheds - A fragment of the history of Harbin Carriage Works 31

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Shang Hsien T'ang and the Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius

by

Li Tsung-i (李宗一), Tseng Yeh-ying (曾业英)
and Cheng Tse-min (郑则民)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 3, June 20, 1976)

To attain their object of aggression against China, the imperialist powers set up many cultural organizations in the past hundred years and more to propagate and promote imperialist slave ideology and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and oppose revolution in China. Shang Hsien T'ang (尚贤堂, Hall for the Veneration of the Worthy) was one of such organizations of cultural aggression. Although it was swept into the garbage dump of history by the Chinese revolution long ago, the tactics of aggression against China it adopted have been inherited today by imperialism and social-imperialism and therefore cannot be ignored.

(I)

In the late 19th century the capitalist powers entered the stage of imperialism. These imperialist powers intensified their external aggression and began a violent struggle to redivide the world. They vied with one another in seizing Chinese territory and marking off their respective spheres of influence. In such a situation imperialist cultural aggression against the Chinese people also became even more well organized and systematic.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are traitorous, restorationist, reactionary doctrines. In the course of their aggression against China, the imperialists realized that China could not be conquered by guns alone, nor was the Christian "Gospel" enough in winning over the hearts of the Chinese people. Hence they tried to drug the Chinese people with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and so attain their object of aggression. They likened the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the Christian faith to the two wheels of their war chariot of aggression against China, saying that "a vehicle with a single wheel may be able to go a long way, but if it has two wheels and is drawn by a powerful horse," it would surely run "more steadily and at greater speed." They thought that this "would win over the minds of the Chinese people" and "in fact be the basis of our bringing order to China." Thus they nakedly revealed the reason why they used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in their aggression against China. Shang Hsien T'ang was thus a product of the imperialist policy of aggression.

Shang Hsien T'ang was founded by the American missionary Gilbert Reid. He came to China's Shantung in 1882, and immediately made "the teaching of Chinese classics in the Chinese way" a wonder drug with which to benumb the Chinese people and an instrument through which to conspire with the officialdom and the gentry. While preaching, he always put on a long gown and a false pigtail, "with the Bible in one hand and the Four Books in

the other," and speciously related Confucian teachings to Christian doctrines. "If the audience is unwilling to listen to Christian doctrines, then talk about the teachings of Confucius." By this means he continually expanded his activities of cultural aggression. During the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, he went to Peking where, in league with W. A. P. Martin, another missionary and teacher of T'ung-wen Kuan (同文馆, School of Combined Learning), and holding up the banner of "moral promotion" and "friendship between Chinese and foreign peoples," he called on the nobles and high officials and scholars in connection with the founding of Shang Hsien T'ang. In February 1897 Shang Hsien T'ang was formally inaugurated in Peking with the support of the American minister Denby and the British minister Tou-na-lo (窦纳乐) and counselor Chu-erh-tien (朱尔典) and the approval of the Ch'ing government office in charge of foreign affairs. Reid himself was made president (later director) of the institute, and Martin became chief editor of "Shang-hsien T'ang New Learning Monthly." Members included Hu Yü-fen, Ch'i Hsiao-an, and other government officials and compradors.

Shang Hsien T'ang had the same aggressive character as other Christian missions and churches, but it acted even more cunningly and treacherously. Its principal activity was not converting people to Christianity, but recruiting "members" from among so-called "upper class Chinese and foreigners." It also established a "kung so /club house/" for foreign "scholars" and Chinese "Confucians" who were members, to enable them to meet each other socially and "discuss ways to help the world and save the people," so as to "restore and expand the hopes and aspirations of scholars" and "refine and promote the talent and ability of Confucians." In other words, the object was to unite Christian teachings with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and make them complementary to each other, so as to "enlarge" the "old understanding" of feudalism and "introduce" the "new knowledge" of Christ. The T'ang also planned to distribute large quantities of books and magazines to expand its influence. It can thus be seen that Shang Hsien T'ang was a downright reactionary fortress of alliance of imperialist culture and Chinese feudal culture.

The object of Shang Hsien T'ang was to "convert the common masses" and "change man's mind," so "Chinese and foreign Christians might unite in harmony" and the Chinese people might "incline toward international friendship." "Converting the common masses" and "changing man's mind" meant to benumb the Chinese people with imperialist slave ideology and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and sap the will of the Chinese people to resist imperialist aggression. The so-called "harmony" and "friendship" on the lips of these scoundrels were definitely meant not to make the imperialists lay down their butcher's knife and stop their aggression, but to make the Chinese people surrender to the imperialists, give up their anti-imperialist struggle, and forever submit to the colonial rule of the imperialists.

As soon as this foreign "Confucian shop," Shang Hsien T'ang, was set up, it won support from all imperialist powers. The American, British, Russian, French and German ministers in China, the foreign staff of the maritime customs, and some missionaries immediately called a meeting to form a board

of trustees of Shang Hsien T'ang in Peking, at which both the American and tsarist Russian ministers spoke in praise of the T'ang and "pledged financial support." Kuang Hsüeh Hui (广学会, Broad Learning Society), an important imperialist cultural organization of aggression in Shanghai, which considered Shang Hsien T'ang an ally, gave it extensive publicity in its own publication Wan-kuo Kung Pao. There were also some elements of aggression against China who praised Shang Hsien T'ang as a "distributor of ideas," saying that it had opened "a new era in the history of Christian missions."

To obtain more financial aid, Gilbert Reid in 1898 and 1899 toured various countries in America and Europe to "raise funds." When he returned to the United States, that country had just proposed an "Open Door" policy toward China. Since Shang Hsien T'ang could very well serve as an instrument of this aggressive policy, it was regarded with considerable favor. Illiyat (伊利雅特), representative of the Carnegie International Peace Fund, praised Reid profusely for being "familiar with conditions in China," having "contributed" more than Christian missionaries in general, and rendering "great help to foreign businessmen in China." Mood (穆德), leader of the American Christian Overseas Evangelical Society, praised the work done by Shang Hsien T'ang as "work of the most profound and far-reaching significance." Morgan, a financial oligarch of Wall Street, Carnegie, "Steel King," and others indicated their willingness to donate funds to Shang Hsien T'ang. A number of American firms engaged in aggression against China, such as Mao Sheng (茂生), Feng Yü (丰裕), Hsieh Lung (协隆) and the Sino-American Ho Hsing (合兴) Railway Company, organized a special agency to provide Shang Hsien T'ang with large amounts of operational funds.

Later, Gilbert Reid went to tsarist Russia on a similar mission. Being the most barbaric and most greedy of the imperialist powers, tsarist Russia always made seizure of Chinese territory the prime target of its aggression. In March 1898, not long before Reid arrived in Russia, it dispatched a naval force to occupy our Lü-shun-k'ou /Port Arthur/ and built a railway in our Northeast, frenziedly pushing a policy of "partitioning China." However, it never neglected cultural aggression. So, the moment Reid arrived, he was received by the minister of foreign affairs, the finance minister, and two other ministers of the tsar's government, who reported his plan for Shang Hsien T'ang to the tsar. Witte, the finance minister, had several secret talks with Reid. Reid asked the tsar's government for a "contribution of $40,000" to Shang Hsien T'ang, and Witte immediately indicated "willingness to help." A pro-government paper in St. Petersburg gave Shang Hsien T'ang very favorable publicity, describing it as "China's savior."

Returning to Peking in 1900, Gilbert Reid secretly planned with W. A. P. Martin in preparation for massive action. But just when they were getting ready to make their move, the great I-ho-t'uan anti-imperialist, patriotic movement broke out in China. The masses in their millions rushed to the anti-imperialist battlefield, furiously battling the imperialist aggressive forces. The building of Shang Hsien T'ang in Peking was burned down by the fierce anti-imperialist fire of the revolutionary masses. Reid,

Martin and others fled in great panic to the Legation Quarters. Although the I-ho-t'uan movement was later bloodily suppressed by the 8-nation allied army, the struggle nevertheless shattered the imperialist scheme to partition China and dealt a staggering blow to the Christian missions engaged in cultural aggression. Afraid to remain in Peking, Reid and his like moved Shang Hsien T'ang to the foreign settlement in Shanghai, where he continued to engage in activities of aggression. The American, British, Japanese and other consular officials, the heads of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and Jardine Matheson and Co. and Lü Hai-huan and other bureaucrats and compradors indicated their suppport for Shang Hsien T'ang and made cash donations to it. Their example was later emulated by Liu K'un-i, Chang Chih-tung, Chou Fu, Sheng Hsüan-huai and other high government officials and compradors as well as the General Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai, the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company, and the Radio and Wireless Company. In 1903, they also formed a Chinese board of trustees of Shang Hsien T'ang with Lü Hai-huan as chairman. From then on, Shang Hsien T'ang became an "enterprise jointly operated by Chinese and foreigners." It was registered as a special company with limited liabilities in Hong Kong so as to be protected by British law.

After 1905, the bourgeois democratic revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen steadily gained momentum. Faced with such a revolutionary situation, the Ch'ing government on the one hand adopted a policy of bloody suppression, and on the other tried to deceive the people with promises of so-called "preparations for a constitutional government." In energetic support of this reactionary policy of the Ch'ing government, Shang Hsien T'ang issued "Shang Hsien T'ang Chronicle" monthly, published books and manufactured public opinion, stating preposterously that "China's monarchy is not autocratic," that "it is no less well organized and perfect than its Western counterparts and even more adapted to China's conditions," and that if it was made "constitutional," so the people knew that "their rights were given them by the monarch with certain limitations," the system would be even more "stable." Meanwhile, it attacked the bourgeois revolutionaries for their revolutionary propaganda, saying it was "abandonment of the root in quest of the end" and "discarding the good points in favor of shortcomings." Even up to the eve of the 1911 Revolution, it put out an article entitled "The Unchangeability of China," madly crying that no revolution should be permitted in China. However, the development of the Chinese revolution certainly could not be held back by a handful of Chinese and foreign reactionaries. While Shang Hsien T'ang was vigorously campaigning against revolution, the gunfire of the Wuchang uprising broke the silence and the revolution of 1911 erupted. Frightened by the unexpected revolution, the chieftains of Shang Hsien T'ang were forced to lie low temporarily in Shanghai's foreign settlement biding their time.

(II)

Following the 1911 Revolution, the imperialists intensified their conspiracy with China's reactionary forces and carried out frenzied counter-attacks in revenge against the 1911 Revolution in many respects--political, economic, cultural--in a vain effort to restore monarchy in China and stop

China's social progress. In response to this situation, Shang Hsien T'ang, as an organ of imperialist cultural aggression, actively developed its activities and manufactured counter-revolutionary public opinion on a massive scale to lend support to Yuan Shih K'ai making himself emperor and Chang Hsün's effort at restoration. For this reason, it began to recruit members on a wide scale in 1912 and expanded its organization. Missionaries T. Richard, Pu-fang-chi (卜芳济) and Mei-hua-tien (梅华殿), K'o-ssu-ta (柯思达), Manager of the German-Chinese Bank and Hsiao-t'ien-ts'e (小田切), head of a 5-nation bank consortium; Cheng Ju-ch'eng (郑沛成), Army Commander of Shanghai and Chu Jui (朱瑞), Governor of Chekiang, were recruited among others as members or honorary members of the T'ang. The board, composed of donors to its fund, "included people of 20 nationalities and 10 different religious faiths."

There was more to that. To strengthen the reactionary cultural camp, Shang Hsien T'ang also went all out to establish connections with many feudal organizations and form a close reactionary alliance with them so as to jointly engage in counter-revolutionary activities and oppose the new culture of China.

At that time, encouraged by Yuan Shih-k'ai's "promotion and illumination of Confucian propriety," some feudal remnants and feudal men of letters in Shanghai gathered together their friends and men like themselves and formed quite a number of small groups whose chief object was reverence of Confucius, such as the Society of Reverence and Exaltation of Confucianism, Confucian-Mencian Orthodox Teachings Society, Kung Chung Speakers Group, etc. Shang Hsien T'ang frequently sent representatives to their meetings to boost their morale by declaring "Christian support for Confucianism." Meanwhile, it also constantly invited their members to Shang Hsien T'ang to lecture on "Confucianism." They had frequent exchanges and were quite friendly to each other.

At the same time, Ch'en Huan-chang, the senior disciple of the leader of the royalists K'ang Yu-wei, was "travelling hither and thither to win Chinese and foreign supporters" for a plan to organize a nationwide Confucian society. He unabashedly begged Shang Hsien T'ang for "help." Shang Hsien T'ang highly approved of the plan and sent Yao Ping-jan, head of its "national heritage section," to serve as a sponsor of the Confucian society. For his part, Gilbert Reid took great pains in helping Ch'en Huan-chang prepare two lectures, "Confucianism Is a Religion" and "China Should Promote and Illumine Confucianism," and invited Ch'en to speak at the Religious Affairs Association of Shang Hsien T'ang. Not long afterward, that is, on October 7, 1912, the Confucian Society was formally inaugurated in Shanghai with Ch'en Huan-chang as its general secretary and Reid its "senior adviser." Thus the Confucian Society was affiliated to Shang Hsien T'ang and presented to the public as a branch of its Religious Affairs Association.

Through its religious, commercial, educadtional and women's associations, Shang Hsien T'ang extended its hands into all cultural spheres

to carry out all sorts of counter-revolutionary activities. Its Religious Affairs Association was especially active. Under the banner of "Developing our religion and studying other religions," it invited well-known personages of the Christian church "and the major religions of Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam and Taoism" as well as imperialist aggressive elements to a "regular meeting" held once a week and "extraordinary meetings" to give talks by turns. Nearly 200 such lecture meetings were held between 1911 and 1915.

Through these lecture meetings the imperialists energetically peddled hypocritical Christian teachings, vaunted imperialist "civilization," instilled slave ideology in the Chinese people, and uttered a lot of nonsense about reverence of Confucius. Afraid that the Chinese people might shake off the spiritual canque of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, they declared that Confucianism was "the most perfect religion in China" which "the Chinese people must not renounce." In May 1912, tsarist Russian aggressor element Keyserling made a speech at Shang Hsien T'ang entitled "Confucianism--the Foundation of China," which showed what a Confucius-adoring maniac this fellow was. Keyserling openly stated that he was "hostile to the new republic." He loudly sang the praise of Confucius, saying preposterously that "Confucianism is the model for all civilizations," that "it will forever be the center of China and will endure as long as the nation exists." He also cried aloud that only by "reviving the ancient way" and acting in accordance with "the spirit of the old classics" would China be able to create a "new era," thus trying his best to make people go backward. The fact that a Russian noble, a devout follower of the Eastern Orthodox Church, went to such lengths to adore Confucianism shows that the teachings of Confucius conformed to the political needs of the old tsar's aggression against China.

"The object of the imperialist powers in invading China is certainly not to turn feudal China into a capitalist China. Quite the opposite. They want to turn China into their semi-colony and colony." Therefore, they always wanted to utilize and foster all reactionary forces in China to make China forever backward so as to facilitate the promotion of their aggressive policies. After the 1911 Revolution, Yuan Shih-k'ai represented the most reactionary and most decadent forces in Chinese society, being the biggest running dog of imperialism as well as the arch restorationist in China. Shang Hsien T'ang naturally wanted to "establish connections" with him. Reid and his like constantly "prayed" for the "Great President Yuan" and extolled him as the "only man capable of saving China," but they were extremely hostile to the people's struggle against Yuan. When Sun Yat-sen launched "the second revolution" in opposition to Yuan's sanguinary rule, Shang Hsien T'ang openly condemned "the revolution as an evil thing." It suggested to Yuan that "the best way to stop a revolution is by dealing it a head-on blow when it begins." When Yuan Shih-k'ai dissolved the parliament, abolished the cabinet and assumed dictatorship as president of the republic, Shang Hsien T'ang, in the guise of "discussing the constitution," called a meeting to vigorously defend Yuan's dictatorial rule. It was alleged: "There is a Chinese saying, 'Just as Heaven doesn't have two suns, the people don't have two rulers.' Christ also said, 'No man can serve two masters.' Instituting a responsible cabinet is like having two masters.... It is

therefore far better to invest all the power in one man at the outset." They even declared that Confucius 2,000 years ago had laid down "eternally perfect principles" of government for posterity, and that if China "wants to reform its politics," it must follow the "teachings of Confucius." "As for monarchy and democracy, the difference is in name, not in substance." The evil intention of Shang Hsien T'ang in using the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in support of the system of monarchy was quite clear.

Once the curtain went up on Yuan Shih-k'ai's ascension to the throne, the "Shang Hsien T'ang Chronicle" quickly reprinted "Republicanism and Monarchy" by Goodnow (古德诺),"Declaration of Ch'ou An Hui /Society for Peace/," and other big poisonous weeds advocating monarchy. In the name of "discussing the system of government," it slandered the Chinese people for "knowing nothing about the republican spirit" and "lacking experience in freedom," and declared that "there is no other suitable system besides autocracy to be adopted as a permanent policy for governing China," thus vigorously trumpeting the necessity for the introduction of monarchy. In October 1915, when the farce of restoration of monarchy reached the climax, Shang Hsien T'ang sent a memorandum directly to Yuan Shih-k'ai, urging him to become the emperor of China.

To repay Shang Hsien T'ang, Yuan Shih-k'ai decided to give it 35,000 taels of silver. But before the payment could be made, an anti-restoration struggle of the people spread rapidly like wild fire all over the country. The short-lived "Emperor Hung Hsien" collapsed utterly after only 83 days in existence.

Chairman Mao points out: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again, till their doom--this is the logic of imperialism and all reactionaries all over the world in dealing with the cause of the people." Shang Hsien T'ang proceeded with this logic. Once its hopes for Yuan Shih-k'ai's restoration of monarchy were dashed, it switched its support to the Ch'ing restorationists.

Shang Hsien T'ang had a long history of conspiracy with the Ch'ing restorationists. Reid's relations with Chang Hsün and Shen Tseng-chih, leaders of the restorationists, were very close. In March 1914, when former Ch'ing government high officials living in Tsingtao and Shanghai tried to restore Manchu emperor P'u I to the throne, Shang Hsien T'ang published an article entitled, "Is the Foreign View of Restoration of the House of Ch'ing To Stop the Civil Strife Practicable As the Only Means of Saving the Country?" It alleged that "restoration of the House of Ch'ing" was "justifiable," thus openly clearing the way for restoration. In the fall of 1916, the Confucian Society once more fanned the evil wind of "establishing Confucianism as the state religion." In support of the reactionary activities of the Confucian Society, the "Shang Hsien T'ang Chronicle" printed "A Petition From the Confucian Society to the Upper and Lower Chambers of Parliament," "Letter Approving Reverence of Confucius" and other evil articles. On July 1, 1917, Chang Hsün, at the head of an army of pigtail soldiers, forcibly reinstalled P'u I, who had been driven away by the Chinese people, in his "Imperial Throne." Gilbert Reid

rushed to Peking, where he called on Shih Hsü, Grand Tutor of the House of Ch'ing; Mongol Prince Nayontu (那彥圖), Ch'en Pao-ch'en, P'u I's teacher; Chih Ch'i, maternal uncle of the Grand Concubine of Emperor Kuang Hsü, and others, and offered his services to the restorationists. The restorationists who acted perversely met with immediate and vehement opposition from the people of the whole country and were heavily besieged. Seeing the unfavorable situation, Reid on July 11 went stealthily to Chang Hsün's command headquarters along the Nan River and instigated Chang to resist to the end. However, the next day the pigtail army was completely routed and Chang himself in panic fled into an imperialist embassy. The attempt at restoration of monarchy again ended in ignominious failure.

History is ruthless. Shang Hsien T'ang wished to seize still greater interests of aggression for the imperialists through reverence of Confucius and restoration. The result, however, was that the two attempts at restoration were submerged in the surging torrents of history. Shang Hsien T'ang was unable to grasp even a straw, but its evil motive of aggression against China was more clearly revealed to the Chinese people, so that a "depression" appeared in its hypocritical "cause." Gilbert Reid was forced to leave China in November 1917. Since then Shang Hsien T'ang's "members dispersed," and it existed only in name.

(III)

With the renewal of intensified imperialist aggression against China after World War I, the ashes of Shang Hsien T'ang revived. In August 1921, Reid again sneaked into China. Supported by the Northern Warlord Government, he successively went to Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Anhwei and Chekiang to carry out his activities. In November 1921 he gathered around him Wang Shih-chen, Chiang Ch'ao-tsung, Lin Shu and a handful of ex-warlords, politicians and feudal men of letters, reopened Shang Hsien T'ang in Peking and published the Kuo-chi Kung-pao /International News/ weekly. To link itself closely with the feudal culture of China, Shang Hsien T'ang also formed a federation of Chinese and foreign religions, including members who were Christians, adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church, Confucians, Taoists, and Buddhists. The object was to work for "harmony and friendship" among these religions so as to jointly serve imperialist aggression against China.

At that time China had already entered upon the stage of the new democratic revolution. In 1919, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist May 4th Movement erupted. In 1921, the great Chinese Communist Party was born, and the Chinese revolution gained a completely new outlook. This was utterly incompatible with the interests of imperialist aggression against China. Accordingly, Shang Hsien T'ang made it its most important task to repress the Chinese revolution and maintain the order of semi-colonial, semi-feudal rule. Through its mouthpiece Kuo-chi Kung-pao, it venomously reviled the revolutionary people, saying that their fight to "strike down Confucianism" "plunges the nation into a state of amorality where there is no distinction between right and wrong." It upbraided patriotic youths, saying that they knew no "fear of orders from Heaven, men

in high position, and the words of sages," and cried loudly that in order to save "rites and music from collapse and destruction," it would be "imperative to restore Confucian propriety and teachings." It falsely labeled Marxism-Leninism as a "heretical doctrine" and advocated the use of the way of Confucius and Mencius to stop the spread of Marxism-Leninism.

Meanwhile, gusts of evil wind of reverence of Confucius blew from the underground shelters of Shang Hsien T'ang. First, it actively supported acts of reverence of Confucius by the feudal warlords. Shang Hsien T'ang all along supported and echoed the activities of feudal warlords in reverence of Confucius. When Ts'ao K'un ordered repairs to the Confucian Temple in Ch'ü-fu /birthplace of Confucius/, Gilbert Reid was so overjoyed that he quickly published a commentary saying, "At a time when propriety is collapsing and music is being destroyed, this act of reverence of Confucius and respect for Confucians truly wins our complete admiration." When Wu P'ei-fu declared loudly that he would "unite /China/ by force of arms" and "make the Confucian principles of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and good faith the foundation of government," Shang Hsien T'ang hailed such shameful deception as a "voice of goodness." In Nanking, Sun Ch'uan-fang revived the ancient ritual of "throwing shafts into a vase," a sport practiced by slave-owning nobility, in an effort to promote reverence of Confucius and restore the old order. He was immediately awarded a crown of laurel by Shang Hsien T'ang for "promoting civilized instead of martial arts." Such instances were too numerous to cite.

Second, Shang Hsien T'ang spread by all possible means the poisonous influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. On the one hand, it drew into its Federation of Chinese and Foreign Religions all pro-Confucian organizations such as the Confucian Society, the New Religion of World Salvation, the Morality Society and the Heart-Washing Society, and invited leading members of these organizations to speak at its lecture meetings. On the other hand, to make it easier for the abstruse and esoteric doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to gain currency among laymen, it attached great importance to annotating and introducing the works of Confucius and Mencius. Taking the lead, Reid selected chapters or passages from the works of Mencius which "could warn the world and save man's mind" and compiled his Mencius Annotated, which appeared in serial form in Kuo-chi Kung-pao. Shang Hsien T'ang's publications were filled with such sinister stuff.

Third, Shang Hsien T'ang energetically promoted the teaching of Confucian classics. Fully aware of the importance of bringing up successors to the way of Confucius and Mencius, it was especially eager to promote the teaching of Confucian classics. When Confucian Society proposed founding the Ch'ü-fu University, the proposal was "applauded" by Shang Hsien T'ang. And Reid gladly accepted an invitation from the Confucian University of Peking to be a lecturer. In March 1924, Wang Shih-chen and other self-styled "representatives of the people" wrote to the upper house of parliament in Peking demanding removal of the ban on "teaching of the classics in teacher training schools and secondary and primary schools." Kuo-chi Kung-pao tossed out one sinister article after another energetically

promoting education in the classics, so that everyone "could be a sage." In March the following year, Shang Hsien T'ang, in the name of an international morality society, wrote a letter to the Northern Warlord Government, demanding that teaching of the classics be made permanent by means of legislation.

Chairman Mao points out: "The class instinct of the reactionaries always leads them to think how clever they are and how incompetent the revolutionary forces always are." They always over-estimate their own strength, while under-estimating the strength of the people. Shang Hsien T'ang believed that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius would forever be a marvellous medium of deception that could be used effectively among the working people as well as the landlord and bourgeois classes. Once the evil wind of reverence of Confucius rose, there would be no room left for Marxism-Leninism, revolution would be undermined, and the imperialists could do what they liked in China. Such wishful thinking of theirs, in the words of Shang Hsien T'ang itself, amounted to the "preservation of private property." Reverence of Confucius was for protecting "private property." The evil purpose was indeed quite evident. However, just as the farce of reverence of Confucius and aggression against China was being played with relish by Shang Hsien T'ang, the "May 30" anti-imperialist movement broke out with a bang.

With a view to extinguishing this raging fire of revolution, Shang Hsien T'ang hurriedly produced a "public announcement," saying that since the attitude of the Chinese people toward the imperialists "worsened steadily," it had to form a Chinese-foreign friendship society to insure "peace" and "happiness" to the imperialists. This was an utterly reactionary organization, which described imperialist bloody slaughter as "friendship" and at the same time asked the Chinese people to be "amicable" to their imperialist "friends." Naturally it was spurned by the Chinese people. With the exception of such imperialist running dog as Chiang Ch'ao-tsung who gladly served as its "president," all Chinese who had a trace of patriotism in their bosoms regarded it with anger. So, despite its hard effort, Shang Hsien T'ang could enlist only "40-50 patrons"--to the chagrin of the imperialists.

So as to sap the people's fighting will, Shang Hsien T'ang continued to hold up this tattered banner of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and energetically trumpeted the spirit of so-called "propriety and courtesy." It alleged that the danger to China "does not lie in external threat" but in the "abandonment" of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, in "non-observance of propriety and courtesy." The Chinese-foreign friendship society and the federation of Chinese and foreign religions jointly held "symposiums," and claimed that the May 30 movement violated the principles of "Confusian love for people" and "harmony is most valuable in the practice of propriety." Kuo-chi Kung-pao carried numerous evil articles, appealing to the Chinese people to practice "the golden mean" and let the imperialists carve up their country without protest. This not only nakedly revealed the aggressive outlook of Shang Hsien T'ang, but also clearly reflected the traitorous essence of the Confucian and Mencian doctrines.

"But the results reaped by diehards of all ages have always been contrary to their wishes." Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Chinese people, in the wake of the "May 30" movement, whipped up an even greater revolutionary storm. A thunderous Northern Expedition War began in 1926, with the spearhead pointed directly at the imperialists and the reactionary rule of their running dogs, the northern warlords.

Shang Hsien T'ang in September 1926 hastily moved back to the Shanghai settlement to avoid the brunt of the revolution, and intensified its desperate struggle with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. On the eve of the Northern Expedition, Shang Hsien T'ang vigorously chanted the prayer of "peace," saying that "there is no other way" to unify China "except by following Mencius' teaching of 'dislike for killing'," in a bid to stop the Chinese people from carrying out the Northern Expedition. After the Northern Expedition began, the nationwide worker-peasant movement with its center in Hunan, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, washed away all grime and dirty water of the old system with the force of a violent storm. Shang Hsien T'ang leaped out like a mad dog to condemn the revolutionary government for going to the "extreme" in its domestic and foreign policies. It attacked the Northern Expeditionary Army for starting a war to seize territory, saying that "there is no longer honesty and honor, and propriety and righteousness is dead." It rabidly demanded "renewed attention to morals and respect for the principles of propriety, righteousness, honesty, sense of honor, filial piety, brotherly love, loyalty and good faith, so as to sweep aside disorder and restore order." The Chinese-foreign friendship society also held up the banner of "pleading on behalf of the people" and produced a "letter appealing to all sides to stop fighting and build a government," asking the Northern Expeditionary Army to "practice benevolent administration" and "desist from killing" in a vain attempt to induce the Chinese people to stop their revolution.

But these were nothing but counter-revolutionary subjective wishes on the part of the imperialists. The Chinese revolution did not cease because of the rabid yelling of Shang Hsien T'ang. With the victorious progress of the Northern Expeditionary war, imperialist running dogs like Wu P'ei-fu and Sun Ch'uan-fang were wiped out one by one. Buffeted by the great storm of revolution, Shang Hsien T'ang declined irrecoverably.

After Chiang Kai-shek's rise to power, as the imperialist powers switched their support to the new Kuomintang warlords with vast sums of money and as missionaries like Leighton Stuart who collaborated closely with these new warlords,were no longer willing to place any more bets on this decaying instrument of Shang Hsien T'ang, contributions the T'ang received dwindled. After Reid died in September 1927, its board of trustees met to "discuss its winding up." After it was controlled by John Reid, son of Gilbert Reid, remotely from the US for a few years, it collapsed completely.

The criminal history of Shang Hsien T'ang tells us that in order to turn China into their colony, the imperialists politically foster China's feudal and comprador forces and culturally promote the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and use them as an instrument of aggression. This is a law of history.

Today, in order to subvert our proletarian dictatorship and promote its hegemonism, imperialism and in particular Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is again blowing from Moscow gusts of evil wind of reverence of Confucius, attacking our great proletarian cultural revolution as "resulting in the destruction of almost all old books as in the era of Ch'in Shih Huang" and praising reactionary Confucians as men who "pursue perfection and kindness, who are selfless and endowed with discriminating wisdom." It supports the "self-restraint and returning to propriety" by China's revisionist leaders from Liu Shao-ch'i to Lin Piao to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the unrepentant capitalist roader. Even not long ago, the counter-revolutionary rioters at Tienanmen Square who called themselves Confucians and slandered new China as a "feudal society of Ch'in Shih Huang" won its praise.

Like Shang Hsien T'ang of the past, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists in so fanatically revering Confucius vainly attempt to turn China into its colony and reduce the Chinese to beasts of burden and slaves once again. But there is even less chance for them to accomplish where their imperialist predecessors failed in old China, because China's proletarian dictatorship has never been so consolidated and strong as it is today.

Note: The principal sources of material quoted in this article are: Shang Hsien T'ang Chronicle, Wan-kuo Kung-pao, Kuo-chi Kung-pao, and Kung-ho Hsi-pao /Western Republican News/.

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Early Tsarist Russian Aggression Against Our Western Regions*

by

Hsi Ta (希达)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 3, June 20, 1976)

Already in the early 17th century tsarist Russia gradually stretched its claws of aggression into our frontier regions. After the mid-19th century in particular, it pursued a policy of partitioning China in conspiracy with Western imperialist powers, and within the short space of half a century forced the Ch'ing government to sign a series of unequal treaties, including the "Sino-Russian Aigun Treaty," the "Sino-Russian Tientsin Treaty," the "Sino-Russian Peking Treaty," and the "Sino-Russian Ili Treaty." By so doing, it seized over 1,500,000 sq. km. of territory in our Northeast and Northwest regions, bloodily suppressed the revolutionary movements of the Chinese people, and committed a series of heinous crimes. The history of Sino-Russian relations is a criminal history of tsarist Russian aggression against China, a history of struggle by the Chinese people against tsarist Russian aggression.

The history of tsarist Russian aggression against our western regions is an important component part of the whole history of tsarist Russian aggression against China.

In the early 17th century tsarist Russia expanded eastward and began to adjoin to a section of the border of the Oirat Mongol region in our Northwest. The Oirat Mongols were a branch of our Mongolian nationality. While continuing to expand toward eastern Siberia, the greedy, cruel tsarist Russian aggressors also established operational bases of aggression in western Siberia, from which aggression was launched against our various Oirat Mongol tribes. At the outset tsarist Russia frequently sent out "emissaries" in an attempt to annex our western territories without firing a shot by resorting to the ignoble means of political bribery; later, it attempted to split our country by inciting and supporting the reactionary nobles of the Oirat Dzungars in rebellion. In the early 18th century Peter I again sent out an aggressive force in an attempt to seize large areas of our western region from the upper Irtysh River to Yarkand, but did not succeed. In 1759, the Ch'ing government suppressed

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* See also "The Ch'ing Government's Struggle To Quell Dzungar Rebellions and Resist Russian Aggression" and "Lies Cannot Change History -- In refutation of shameless lies of the Soviet revisionists tampering with the history of our Dzungar tribe," SPRCM No. 885, August 23, 1976.--SPRCM Ed.

the secessionist rebellions of the reactionary nobles of the Dzungars and Huis and unified the western region, thereby dealing a heavy blow to the ambitious tsarist Russian aggressors.

Since then, tsarist Russia continued to encroach on our western regions through armed piece-meal seizure of territory, espionage and looting of resources and by subversive and divisive means. Particularly after the Opium War of 1840, when China was reduced to a semi-colony, tsarist Russia became even more frenzied in its aggression against our western regions. In these aggressive activities, armed piece-meal encroachment on our western territory again occupied a dominant position. By the 1850's tsarist Russia gradually seized by armed force part of our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash and forced the Ch'ing government to sign the unequal "Ili-Tarbagatai Trade Regulations," by which it obtained a series of political and economic privileges. These aggressive activities were in preparation for the large scale tsarist Russian aggression against our western regions in the 1860's.

Today, to meet the needs of their policy of aggression and expansion, the Soviet revisionist renegade group are energetically exculpating the old tsars from their crimes of aggression against our country. A small handful of writers whom they hire are publishing voluminous writings against China, willfully altering and distorting the history of tsarist Russian aggression against China. Some of these anti-China writings try to reverse the verdicts on the old tsars' crimes of aggression against China's western regions. The authors of these anti-China works, such as Tikhvinskiy, fabricated all sorts of lies, saying that the Chinese areas east and south of Lake Balkhash, which tsarist Russia occupied in the mid-19th century, were in the past "actually not governed by China." They even say that these areas "never belonged to the Ch'ing empire," that the tsarist government "continued to maintain good neighborly relations with China" in the mid-19th century, and so on. They describe the armed seizure of our western regions by the old tsars before the forced signing of the unequal treaties as "economic exploration by Russian settlers," and the aggressive activities of subversion and division which tsarist Russia conducted in our national minority areas as a result of the search for tsarist Russian "protection" by these national minorities and their "voluntary union" with Russia.* This is a typical hegemonic excuse, a gangster logic pure and simple.

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* China's Modern History edited by Tikhvinskiy, 1972, Moscow; Biskrovney (别斯克罗夫内), Tikhvinskiy et al "On the History of Formation of the Russo-Chinese Border" carried in the Soviet magazine International Life, No. 6, 1972; Kulevich (古列维奇), "Great Han Chauvinism and Certain Problems of History of Central Asian Nationalities," carried in Soviet magazine Historial Problems, No. 9, 1974.

The aim of the Soviet revisionists in cooking up these lies and fallacies is to justify the policy of aggression they are pushing today. But lies cannot replace facts, and historical truth cannot be distorted. To expose the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet revisionists in altering and forging history and in inheriting the old tsars' policy of aggression and expansion, it is necessary for us to review the history of the old tsars' aggression against our western regions in the hundred years from 1759 to 1860.*

Incursions Into Our Khobdo, Tannu Ulaangom and Other Areas

Our western regions, including the extensive areas east and south of Lake Balkhash, have always been our territory since times immemorial. As early as 60 B.C. a governor's office for the western regions was established by the Han government of China with jurisdiction over the extensive western areas around Lake Balkhash. In the 7th century A.D. the T'ang government of China also established government offices here, collected taxes, and stationed troops who also farmed the land. In the mid-18th century the Ch'ing government of China, having suppressed the rebellion of reactionary nobles of the national minorities in the west and unified the western regions, set up administrative organs there under the commanding general of Ili, established sentry posts, and courier stations, and formulated a system of border patrols, carrying out effective administration. Before tsarist Russian incursions, China's western border was at Lake Balkhash, a fact known all over the world. This was not only recorded in a large number of Chinese official documents, but also acknowledged even in many tsarist Russian as well as Soviet historical works and maps.

When the Ch'ing government unified the western regions in 1759, tsarist Russia was still some distance away from China's border at Lake Balkhash. Only in one section from the upper Irtysh River to Shabina Dabaga was its border contiguous to China. Our territory south of this border was part of Tannu Ulaangom and Khobdo under Frontier Left Deputy General of Uliasutai of the Ch'ing government.

To seize our western territory, the ambitious tsarist Russia on the one hand created incidents on the Sino-Russian border and murdered Chinese frontier officers and guards; on the other, it fabricated the lie that China wanted to "expand" toward Central Asia and "threaten" Russian security, waiting for an opportunity to invade our border areas. Building forts, secretly erecting markers, and armed piece-meal encroachment were among the characteristic features of tsarist Russian aggression in this period.

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* Regarding tsarist Russian crimes of aggression against our Dzungars before 1759, these were dealt with in a special article in Historical Research, No. 2, 1976. The matter will not be discussed here.

In March 1760, under the pretext of "guarding against" the Ch'ing government's "attacks," tsarist Russian Siberia governor Soimolov (索伊莫洛夫) recommended to the tsarist government that forts be built from Russia's frontier fort K'eng-ko-erh-t'u-la (now Usdikaminogorsk) along our territory of Pu-k'o-t'u-erh-ma River (now Buktama River) to Altan Nor (now Lake T'ieh-lieh-tz'u-k'o-yeh). To this end, he sent two armed "survey teams" into the area of Ha-t'un River (now K'a-t'ung River) and Altan Nor inside our territory of Khobdo. These teams erected markers and carried out surveys in the area, looking for suitable sites on which to build new walled towns and multi-turreted forts. Chalanak, the then Manchu administrator of Altan Nor, immediately reported this aggressive activity of tsarist Russia to the Ch'ing Court. Thereupon, the Ch'ing government ordered Chengkunchapu, commanding general of Uliasutai, to "assemble troops and nomadic herders" and proceed to the area to investigate and take appropriate action. Officers and men were taken from various units and ordered to "proceed in two different routes to patrol the area of Altan Nor, dismantle and destroy any markers found and expel anyone found stationed there."*

On the basis of information provided by the two "survey teams" mentioned above, the Privy Council of tsarist Russia toward the end of the same year ordered that forts of aggression be built from K'eng-ko-erh-t'u-la to our Altan Nor and other "suitable places."** In September 1763, the Ch'ing government received reports that tsarist Russians had intruded into the source of Wei-man River (also known as O-i-man River) and K'u-k'o-wu-su River (both tributaries of the upper Ha-t'un River), Bukturma River, and Se-pi River (now a tributary of upper Ch'a-lei-shih River), where they "built houses with fences" as well as forts. The Ch'ing government thereupon ordered Chengkunchapu to send 100 officers and men each from Oirat and Uriangkhai to Se-pi and other areas to "demolish all stockades and houses built by the Russians."+ In compliance with this order, the Ch'ing troops demolished the tsarist Russian forts and houses in Bukturma, Se-pi and other areas in the summer of the following year.++ This action of the Ch'ing government stopped the tsarist Russian aggressive activity of armed piece-meal encroachment on our territory.

In October 1764, the tsarist government called a "state conference" at St. Petersburg specially to discuss strengthening the Siberian

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* True Records of Kao Tsung of Ch'ing, Vol. 617, upper p. 8 to lower p. 9; lower p. 16 to upper p. 18; Vol. 618, p. 2.

** Complete Codes of Imperial Russia, Book 1, Vol. 15, p. 534.

\+ True Records of Kao Tsung of Ch'ing, Vol. 692, pp. 1-2.

++ Ibid., Vol. 710, pp. 7-9.

administrative system and troop reinforcements in Siberia in an attempt to amass troops at the border to threaten our frontier regions and to invade our northwest border areas whenever possible. In 1771, Chi-fu, the Ch'ing minister for Khobdo, reported to the Ch'ing Court that Russian settlers were found infiltrating into Han Shan (now the Northern Altai) and Ha-t'un River areas under his jurisdiction to engage in farming. He recommended that "where a census has hitherto been carried out once every three years, it should be carried out once every year." Approving the request, the Ch'ing government ordered that "a competent officer with 100 troops be sent to make a search there every year."* In the last decade of the 18th century armed tsarist Russian settlers again infiltrated into our Bukturma River area from the Irtysh River, illegally built wooden houses there, and forced the local Chinese people to "pledge their allegiance" to Russia. In 1831, some tsarist Russian traders infiltrated into the T'ui (also known as Ch'ui) River area in the upper Ha-t'un River and built 37 wooden houses there one after another.** All these encroachments were carried out furtively by tsarist Russia taking advantage of the sparsely populated condition of our vast frontier regions.

Sending spies to collect intelligence and looting of resources were also among the characteristic of tsarist Russian aggression during this period.

In 1764, the tsarist Russian governor of Siberia sent agents including Tselenov (泽列诺夫) to Lake Chai-sang between our Tarbagatai and Khobdo. They travelled upward along the Irtysh River to a depth of 70 verst into our territory. Kozmin (科兹明), another agent sent out at the same time, went into our territory of Tannu Ulaangom between Altan (now Biya) River and the upper Yenisei River to collect intelligence.+ In 1793, tsarist Russian "botanist" Sifars (西伐尔斯), "mining engineer" Sneighsirov (斯内格希罗夫) and others intruded into our Tarbagatai mountain area to conduct "observation" and gather information on our natural resources.++ These agents and spies stole a large amount of military, geographical and economic intelligence about our frontier regions, providing tsarist Russia with important information for aggression against our western regions.

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* Ibid., Vol. 888, p. 32.

** An Account of Preparation for Handling Barbarian Affairs, T'ung Chih era, Vol. 16, Vol. 18.

\+ Yukina (休基纳), How the Map of Central Asia Was Drawn," 1955 Moscow, pp. 24-25.

++ Przhevalski (English translation by Morgan), From Ining Across T'ienshan to Lop Nor, 1879, London, Appendix to English Translation, p. 171.

With respect to plundering of resources, tsarist Russian Cossack troops stationed in forts on the Irtysh River in 1803 gradually moved upward along the river and intruded into our Lake Chai-sang, where they looted our fishery resources. At first, they fished illegally in the area from Bukturma River to Na-lin River (now Na-lei-mu River) within Khobdo. Later, they continued to move upward along the river, reached our K'a-lun, and engaged in fishing in the area of Ni-mai-la-hu and Hui-mai-la-hu. Finally they intruded into the area of Lake Chai-sang and there carried out looting. In 1808, tsarist Russia officially established a "military fishing ground" and vigorously looted the fishery resources of the Chai-sang Lake area. According to statistics, in the period from 1803 to 1845 alone, tsarist Russia derived an income of 504,880 rubles from looting of fishery resources.*

Tsarist Russian aggressive activities in our Khobdo and Tannu Ulaangom areas were constantly rebuffed by the Ch'ing government. Right up to 1864, when tsarist Russia forced it to sign the unequal "Summary of Sino-Russian Demarcation of the Northwest Border," the Ch'ing government exercised effective administrative control over the areas, appointing or dismissing chiefs of the various tribes of Uriangkhai and collecting taxes. The high frontier officials of the Ch'ing government also basically upheld the system of joint annual inspection of the borders. These historical facts once more prove that these areas were Chinese territory, and the allegation that they "never belonged to the Ch'ing empire" is only a shameful lie fabricated by the Soviet revisionists.

In defense of the crimes of aggression by the old tsars, Soviet revisionist hireling writers have also alleged that the areas of entry of the Buktama and Na-lei-mu rivers into the upper Irtysh River as well as Altan Nor were incorporated into Russian territory as early as 1756.** The only basis for their claim is that 12 local leaders of Uriangkhai "pledged their allegiance" to Russia in 1756. This argument basically cannot stand.

The truth of the matter is that in the 21st year (1756) of Ch'ien Lung, 12 Uriangkhai chieftains in the Han Shan and Ha-t'un River areas within our territory, including O-mu-pu and his son Po-lo-t'e, fled from the Chinese border at the Pai River (now the upper section of Ch'a-lei-shih River) into Russian territory after committing crimes, and were accepted by tsarist Russia. At the time the Ch'ing government sent troops "to the Russian

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* Babukov, Recollections of My Service in West Siberia, 1859-1875, 1912, St. Petersburg, p. 200.

** Kulevich, "Ch'ing Empire's Invasion of Central Asia in Second Half of 18th Century and Russian Policy," carried in Soviet magazine Soviet History, No. 2, 1973.

border to demand their return."* In a reply to the Ch'ing government in May 1757, the tsar claimed that O-mu-pu and his son Po-lo-t'e had looted the Russian border before, and so they were "taken here under strict security."** These Uriangkhai chieftains were nothing but fugitives who rebelled and fled, and so could no longer govern the areas which had been governed by them before. In those days not even the old tsars dared to make that an excuse to seize our territory. But the Soviet revisionists today have the audacity to prove by this that these areas belonged to Russia long ago. This can only show that the Soviet revisionists are even more shameless than the old tsars and that the ambition of the new tsars of aggression and expansion is greater than that of the old tsars.

Claws of Aggression Stretched into Our Lake Balkhash Area

While making incursions into our Khobdo and Tannu Ulaangom areas, tsarist Russia gradually annexed the Kazakh grassland west of Lake Balkhash, closing in and initiating intrusion into our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash.

In the early 18th century, tsarist Russia's border was still on the north shore of the Caspian Sea and a long way from China's Lake Balkhash. At that time, on the vast Kazakh grassland east of the Caspian Sea were three "yurts" (also known as "Yü-tzu," tribal leagues of a feudal, nomadic character built on the basis of a clan) of the Kazakhs: these were called large, medium and small yurts (also called right, left and west tribes in Chinese documents). In the 1730's and 1740's, the tsarist Russian aggressors, continuing to expand eastward, building military forts and linking them into a line of forts, incorporated large tracts of the land of the Kazakhs into Russian territory. Meanwhile, it also made the upper level feudal rulers of the Kazakhs "go over" to Russia by armed threats, deception and bribery. Under these circumstances, some of the rulers of the small and medium yurts of the Kazakhs roaming the western and northern parts of the grassland were forced to submit nominally to tsarist Russia.

By the middle of the 18th century, China's Ch'ing government successfully suppressed the rebellion of the reactionary Dzungar nobles, and beginning from 1767, with its permission, some tribes of the large and medium yurts of the Kazakhs moved one after another into our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash, and there herded their animals. The Ch'ing government sent officials there at regular intervals to collect taxes from these Kazakhs, the rate being "one for every hundred head of cattle and horses,

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* True Records of Kao Tsung of Ch'ing, Vol. 515, p. 10.

** "Russian Language Historical Materials in Imperial Palace" translated and compiled by Liu Tse-jung and Wang Chih-hsiang, No. 23, pp. 309-310.

and one for every thousand head of sheep."* These historical facts eloquently show that the areas east and south of Lake Balkhash had always been Chinese territory. The Soviet revisionist claim that these areas "have never really been governed by China" is entirely an unabashed lie.

By the 1820's, tsarist Russia intensified its annexation of the Kazakh grassland. According to the "Regulations on Siberian Kirghiz"** drawn up in 1822 by Pelanskiy (佩兰斯基), governor of West Siberia and approved for enforcement by the tsarist government, tsarist Russia formally annexed the small and medium yurts of the Kazakhs and placed them under the jurisdiction of the governor of Orenburg of West Siberia. Then, tsarist Russia established a series of so-called "peripheral districts" in areas near our western border, such as the two districts of Kokhchetov (科克切托夫) and Karkalalinsk (卡尔卡拉林斯克) created in 1824 and the peripheral district of Bayanul (巴彦乌尔) in 1826. Some of these districts gradually closed in on our border areas. Such acts of aggression as the annexation of the Kazakh grassland and incursion into our western frontiers were clearly set down in the above-mentioned "Regulations." "In terms of defense the Siberian boundary is not a permanent installation," "such defense may be pushed forward and finally should be permanently fixed on the actual national boundaries."*** The aggressive desire of the avid, insatiable old tsars was vividly represented on paper. At this moment the iron boots of the tsarist Russian aggressor troops were trampling China's territory east and south of Lake Balkhash.

The first time the tsarist Russian aggressor troops intruded into China's territory east and south of Lake Balkhash was 1825. In July that year tsarist Russia sent Col. Shupin (舒宾) with over 300 troops to intrude into the area of Ha-la-t'a-la on the K'u-k'o-wu-su River (now K'a-la-t'a-erh River) east of Lake Balkhash. Here the invaders vigorously carried out divisive, subversive activities among the upper level elements of the Kazakhs in an effort to build bases of aggression and make armed piece-meal annexation of our territory. They wooed and bought off upper level elements of the Kazakhs, imposed taxes on the Kazakhs, and privately built houses, declaring that "next year towns will be built and the land will be farmed to make it suitable for a garrison." In September, Wu-ling-a, the leading minister at Ili, made an inspection of the border as usual and collected taxes on the horses of the Kazakhs. During the tour he found tsarist Russian aggressors building houses in Ha-la-t'a-la and immediately reported the matter to the Ch'ing Court. Thereupon, the Ch'ing government lodged a strong protest with tsarist Russia, pointing out that

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* Ch'un Yuan, "What I Heard and Saw in the Western Regions," Vol. 1, p. 10.

** Here Kirghiz refers to the present-day Kazakhs. In the 18th and 19th centuries Europeans generally called the Kazakhs by the name of Kirghiz and the Kazakh grassland the Kirghiz grassland. They also called the present-day Kirghiz (namely the Kolkoz) Dikokamennkirghiz.

*** Babukov, op. cit., p. 153.

"O-pos have been established in Fan-ai-ku-ssu (now A-ya-ku-ssu), La-pu-shih (now Lieh-p'u-sa), and Ha-la-t'a-la" which were Chinese territory. It accused the tsarist Russian aggressors of "trespassing from a long distance, building houses and occupying our territory" and demanded "the Sanate Office (the tsarist Russian privy council)....to have them dismantled at once."* Since China held clearly defined sovereignty over the above-mentioned areas, the tsarist Russian privy council knew that it was in the wrong. Nevertheless, it made an evasive reply, saying that the Russian troops built the houses "without reporting to the tsar," that these were merely "temporary shelters," and that "it wouldn't take long for them to collapse."** Under the protest of the Ch'ing government, the Russians were forced to pull down the houses the following year.+

In 1831 and again in 1832, the tsarist government called a meeting of the "Commission on Siberian and Asian Problems" to further map out the means and steps for aggression and expansion against our western regions. The meeting finally decided to continue to adopt the principle of "gradual" and "cautious" action, which meant that the Russians should "occupy strategic points step by step, move in armed settlers, build lines of defense, and gradually build up along these lines material stocks necessary for continuing the advance." The starist government tried to make the Ch'ing government realize, through the accomplished fact of occupation of Chinese territory, that all land occupied by Russians "belongs to Russia."++ Tsarist Russia adopted such a covert, piece-meal policy because it was afraid that drastic aggressive action would lead to strong resistance by the Kazakhs in our country. At the same time it also tried to lull the Ch'ing government into a state of torpor so as to prevent or minimize the protests and armed resistance of the Ch'ing government. According to decisions of the meeting, the tsarist government ordered the governor general of Siberia to continue to station troops near our border on the Ch'u-k'o-li-k'o (now K'o-k'o-p'ei-k'o-t'e) and Ai-ku-ssu rivers.

In short, tsarist Russian aggressive activities before 1840 to occupy our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash failed as a result of protests from our Ch'ing government. Subsequently, in search of opportunities to realize its ambition of occupying our western territory, tsarist Russia built more footholds and stationed troops near our western border in constant readiness to invade our territory.

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* "Quarterly Foreign Affairs Historial Materials of Ch'ing," Tao Kuang Era II, 5th year of Tao Kuang.

** Ibid., 6th year of Tao Kuang, 13, 6th month.

\+ Ibid., 6th year of Tao Kuang, 19, 9th month; Babukov, op. cit., p. 154.

++ Babukov, op. cit., pp. 152-153 and pp. 158-159.

Illegal Building of Footholds for Aggression, Occupation of Large Tracts of Our Territory

"Following the Opium War of 1840, China turned step by step into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society." China became an object of imperialist aggression and plunder. On the other hand, tsarist Russia gradually became a militaristic, feudal imperialist power--an imperialist gangster who was more frenzied in aggression against our country and seized more territory from us than other imperialist powers.

After 1840, tsarist Russia became still more frantic in its aggression against our western regions. It made greater use of the means of "building forts and moving in settlers" and piece-meal annexation, and openly invaded our areas east and south of Lake Balkhash. It built fortified points there for aggression, moved in armed settlers, and forcibly occupied Chinese territory. From 1846 to 1847, tsarist Russian aggressive forces again intruded into the area north of Ha-la-t'a-la on the K'u-k'o-wu-su River and there built an aggressive foothold---Kopar (科帕尔). To consolidate and expand the aggressive forces in this area, tsarist Russia also transferred an entire Cossack regiment stationed at Biisk to areas near the fortified points of Hsieh-erh-chi-ao-po-li (now A-ya-ku-ssu), K'o-k'o-p'ei-k'o-t'e and Kopar, forcibly occupying large tracts of our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash.

Such naked aggressive acts were immediately met by strong protests from our Ch'ing government. In 1849, when the leading minister for Ili of the Ch'ing government came to the K'u-k'u-o-lo-mu River (now the Kuksu, a tributary of the Kalatar River) near Ha-la-t'a-la on his routine inspection tour, he was unreasonably stopped by tsarist Russian aggressive troops. On receiving a report, the Ch'ing government promptly lodged a protest with tsarist Russia through the Ministry of Barbarian Affairs. It pointed out that the area around Ha-la-t'a-la was Chinese territory. It recalled that Russian soldiers "built houses in the Ha-la-t'a-la area" in the 5th year (1825) of Tao Kuang and dismantled them after protest. It demanded that the Russians who "camp on our side of the border" and who obstructed the normal patrolling of the border by our officers and men, be "completely withdrawn" immediately.* In October 1850, tsarist Russia most craftily made a "vague reply," in which it said indefinitely that the matter was being referred to the West Siberian Office, which was "ordered to make an investigation and report its findings."** In its reply in March 1851, the tsarist Russian privy council rudely distorted the facts, falsely stating that China sent an official from Ili in 1849 to "meet with" a Russian official on the Kuksu River and request the return of horses and

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* Note from Ministry of Barbarian Affairs to Russia on the 20th of the 10th month, 29th year of Tao Kuang.

** Reply from Russian Sanate (privy council) on the 4th of the 9th month, 30th year of Tao Kuang.

camels which China had lost in the area, and that the animals were now found and returned to Ili. This was obviously an attempt to create confusion and avoid making a direct reply to the protest of the Ch'ing government. In its reply, tsarist Russia shamelessly declared that the Chinese territory which it had newly occupied was Russian. With regard to the Kopar fort which it had illegally built, it stated that Russia "built the fortified camp at K'uo-p'a-la (namely, Kopar)" after "repeated requests" from the local Kazakhs.* Here again the tsarist Russian aggressors resorted to the customary tactic by which it expanded its territory: it invaded and occupied large tracts of our western territory in the guise of "protecting" the Kazakhs.

It must also be pointed out that tsarist Russia's two replies were carefully drafted by its privy council and foreign ministry. According to an admission by Babukov (巴布科夫), who signed for the Russian side the 1864 "Summary of Sino-Russian Demarcation of the Northwest Border," the Russians made such "vague replies" because they wanted to "gain time and secure an opportunity to prepare to deal with various unexpected incidents."** At the same time, tsarist Russia with its guilty conscience secretly ordered the governor of West Siberia to take "the necessary measures." In 1850 the Russians built up food stockpiles and reinforced their troops at Kopar and other footholds near our border.

At that time, the Ch'ing government "was able neither to control its own people nor resist aggression from foreign powers."*** Particularly when the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolutionary movement erupted in our country in 1851, the Ch'ing government was so preoccupied with suppressing the revolutionary people at home that it could not spare anything to resist foreign aggression, thus giving an opportunity to the increasingly bold tsarist Russians to act.

In 1851, Casvrd (加斯弗尔德), the newly appointed governor of West Siberia, sent Cossack troops to attack and occupy our T'o-wu-ch'u-pieh-k'o south of the Ili River. Then in 1854, Tsar Nicholas I approved Casvrd's recommendation to seize our land south of the Ili River and build forts there. In August, a tsarist Russian aggressive force formed of an infantry battalion and 300 Cossacks invaded the area near our Ku-erh-pan-a-li-ma-t'u on the Ili River and began to build a fort there. This was completed the following year and was named Wei-erh-nei (now Almata). In its deep westward push, this aggressive force met with angry resistance

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* "An Account of Preparation for Handling of Barbarian Affairs," Era of Hsien Feng, Vol. 4.

** Babukov, op. cit., p. 155.

*** Engels, "Russia's Successes in the Far East," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2, p. 37.

from our Buriat people (now the Kolkoz nationality of Sinkiang) there. They surrounded the aggressive force, forcing it to retreat to its fort. In 1855-56, tsarist Russia began to move two Cossack companies to the vicinity of Wei-erh-nei. There they built large and small Almata settlers villages and had the armed forces farm the land. When these armed settlers arrived in the vicinity of Wei-erh-nei, our Buriat people, who had been living there for generations, attacked the Russian garrison out of their hatred for the tsarist Russian aggressors who occupied their homeland. They drove away the Russian horses and killed 12 Cossack settlers.*

By illegally building Kopar, Wei-erh-nei and other footholds for aggression, tsarist Russia moved armed settlers into these places. These fortified points were then linked to form a "line of forts." By this means tsarist Russia gradually encroached upon and occupied, piece by piece, large tracts of our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash. This new line of forts, called the new Siberian line of forts, was joined to the Irtysh line of forts (also called the Siberian line of forts) at Hsieh-mi-pa-la-ting-ssu-k'o in the north. It passed through Hsieh-erh-chi-ao-po-li and Kopar and ended up at Wei-erh-nei. Later, tsarist Russia continued to resettle armed Cossacks on both sides of the new line of forts, continually establishing settlers' villages and sentry posts on our territory which they occupied, and finally cutting the route of our normal patrol of the border. In 1856, tsarist Russia went so far as to illegally establish a so-called "Alatov District" in our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash which it had occupied piece by piece, with the governor of West Siberia exercising sanguinary colonial rule over our people in the area.

These naked acts of aggression of tsarist Russia are misrepresented today by the Soviet revisionists as "economic exploration by Russian settlers" and "voluntary union" of the local people "with Russia." Facts prove that their so-called "Russian settlers" were fully equipped Cossack aggressive troops, and that the so-called "economic exploration" precisely meant the aggressive crimes of the blood-thirsty tsarist Russian gangsters who forcibly occupied land and livestock farms and killed and plundered the local Chinese people. And the so-called "voluntary union with Russia" is a shameful lie by which they hope to cover up the old tsars' armed conquest of our minority nationalities in the region and their bloody suppression of the latter's resistance!

Seizing Rights and Benefits of Aggression Through "Sino-Russian Ili-Tarbagatai Trade Regulations"

While carrying out armed nibbling of our territory, tsarist Russia also expanded its aggression against our western regions by means of "trade." As early as 1847, the tsarist government several times made a demand to the Ch'ing government that it be allowed to trade at China's Ili, T'ach'eng and

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* Shemiaonov (謝苗诺夫), Travels in Tienshan, 1947, Moscow, p. 78.

Kashgar. In 1849 the Ch'ing government was finally forced to agree to trade with tsarist Russia at Ili and T'ach'eng, but turned down its request to trade at Kashgar. In August 1851, the Chinese and Russian sides signed the "Sino-Russian Ili-Tarbagatai Trade Regulations" in Ili. In accordance with these "regulations," tsarist Russian merchants obtained a series of special privileges, including duty-free trade at Ili and T'ach'eng and the right to store goods, reside, herd animals, bury the dead, and establish churches in designated areas. Tsarist Russia's industrial products (such as woollen fabrics, ironware, leather, etc.) were imported into our western regions in a steady stream. Tsarist Russia secured enormous economic interests and "enjoyed a monopoly of overland trade in the hinterland."*

Through the "Regulations," tsarist Russia also obtained the special right to establish consulates at the important towns of Ili and T'ach'eng. These two posts for Russian consular officials immediately became centers of espionage activity for tsarist Russian aggression against our western region. Chakharov (札哈罗夫), the first Russian consul at Ili, was later appointed chief Russian delegate to the signing of the unequal "Summary of Sino-Russian Demarcation of Northwest Border" as a result of the tsar's recognition of his espionage work at Ili. While still a Russian consul, this vanguard of aggression against China stealthily made maps of our western frontier defense posts and k'a-luns, and stole a large amount of important information.** The "Regulations" provided that "matters pertaining to merchants of the two sides shall be dealt with according to justice separately by the two sides" and "minor disputes between merchants of the two sides shall be reported to the trade officials of both sides and dealt with by them." Since such provisions were carried out only in Chinese territory, they in reality gave tsarist Russia consular jurisdiction in our western region.

Not only that, but under the pretext of providing for trade security, tsarist Russian delegate Kovalevski (科瓦列夫斯基) and others succeeded in persuading I Shan, the imbecile Chinese Manchu delegate, to put down in writing in the "Regulations" that "China shall not deal with" cases in which Russian merchants were robbed outside k'a-luns /military posts/. This enabled tsarist Russia to send troops continually and uninhibitedly to occupy our western areas under the excuse of "protecting its merchants." Thus tsarist Russian aggressor Babukov said gleefully: "From this viewpoint, the 'Ining Treaty' (meaning the 'Regulations' of 1851) has great significance not only commercially, but also politically. It becomes a powerful motive for continuing advance on the heartland of Central

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* Marx, "Russia's Trade With China," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2, p. 9.

** Shemiaonov, op. cit., p. 185; Babukov, op. cit., pp. 230-231.

Asia."* That is to say, this provision of the "Regulations" threw open the gate for Russian expansion of aggression against and occupation of our western region.

"The people of all nationalities in China are opposed to oppression by foreign nations, and want to remove such oppression by means of resistance." Tsarist Russian encroachment on and economic plunder of our western regions in the 1840's and 1850's provoked angry resistance from the people of all nationalities in China's west. The struggle by the people of all nationalities in T'ach'eng to burn down the tsarist Russian trade enclosure in 1855 was an outstanding example.

This struggle was touched off by tsarist Russia's seizure of the Ya-erh-ka-t'u gold mine south of Lake T'u-ku-le (now Lake A-la) in our T'ach'eng area and its sending of troops to expel and persecute our gold miners. On August 20, 1855, about 500-600 people of various nationalities in T'ach'eng assembled and burned down the tsarist Russian trade enclosure at T'ach'eng with lighted torches of reed. The fire, fanned by a strong wind that night, destroyed the trade enclosure in less than an hour. Amid shouts of anger of the people of T'ach'eng, the tsarist Russian consul and his Cossack guards hurriedly fled back to Russia.** Tsarist Russia seized the opportunity to extort huge "compensation" from the Ch'ing government, declaring that it would otherwise follow the British example of "demanding indemnity for opium destroyed in Kwangtung" and waged a war of aggression against China. Under the military pressure and war threats of tsarist Russia, the Ch'ing government was finally forced to agree to pay an "indemnity" of 300,000 rubles for the loss, to be paid in three yearly installments in the form of 5,500 crates of Wu-i tea.***

The just struggle of the people of T'ach'eng in burning down the tsarist Russian trade enclosure was a prelude to large-scale resistance of the people of all nationalities of our western region to tsarist Russian aggression. It demonstrated the fine tradition of the Chinese people in resisting foreign aggressors and dealt a heavy blow to the arrogant tsarist Russian aggressor.

Invading China's T'e-mu-erh-t'u Nor and Upper Chu River, Even Vainly Attempting To Seize Our Kashgar Area

After its defeat in the Crimean War in 1856, tsarist Russia met with a temporary setback in its westward expansion. So it intensified its

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* Babukov, op. cit., p. 134.

** "An Account of Preparations for Handling Barbarian Affairs," Vol. 13.

*** Ibid., Vol. 30.

aggression against Central Asia and our country. Seizing upon the opportunity presented by the Second Opium War then waged by Britain and France against China, tsarist Russia carried out large-scale territorial seizures in our country with still greater frenzy. In our western region, on the one hand it consolidated and strengthened its footholds for aggression in our territory it had occupied, and on the other it continued to expand southward its aggressive forces, which intruded into our T'e-mu-erh-t'u Nor (also called Je-hai, now Issyk Kul) and the area of the upper Chu River (called "Ch'ui" District in Chinese documents). It even attempted to seize our Kashgar area.

In May 1856, Casvrd, governor of West Siberia, dispatched a Cossack aggressive force headed by Col. Khamitovski (哈米托夫斯基) from Wei-erh-nei to intrude into our T'e-mu-erh-t'u Nor area, where the invaders brutally killed over 40 people of our Buriat nationality.* The invaders also surveyed and drew a map of the terrain in an attempt to build a fortified point there for aggression. Owing to the resistance of our Buriat people, the invaders did not succeed in their scheme.**

At that time, Shemiaonov (谢苗诺夫), a notorious tsarist aggressive element, sneaked into the T'e-mu-erh-t'u Nor area in the name of "scientific research," and carried out observation of 200 km. of the north slope of our T'ienshan along the shore of the lake. He did his best to bribe and woo the upper crust elements of the Pu-k'u tribe of the Buriat nationality, and stole a large amount of information. In April 1857, he again sneaked into the area and tried to sow dissension between our Pu-k'u and Sa-erh-pa-ka-shih tribes and divide them. He also went eastward, passed through Shan-t'a-ssu Ta-pan, stealthily bypassed our k'a-lun and penetrated deep into the central part of T'ienshan. Finally he even sneaked into the T'e-k'o-ssu valley to observe Mu-cha-erh-t'e Ta-pan--the easternmost passage from Ili to Kashgar. When he returned to Russia in July, Shemiaonov vigorously trumpeted the importance of seizing areas south of the Ili River, including T'e-mu-erh-t'u Nor and the upper Chu River, saying that occupation of these areas would "make it possible to build the strongest and most impregnable fortress for Russia's power and rule in Central Asia" and "in particular, to push Russia's frontier forward."*** Shemiaonov's aggressive views were subsequently adopted by the tsarist government. This tsarist Russian aggressive element, who gained fame through his "observations" of our T'ienshan, later shamelessly changed his name to "Shemiaonov--Tienshansky."

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* Batord (巴托尔德), Kirghiz (Outline History), 1927, Frunze, pp. 50-52.

** Zomgorzenov (佐姆戈尔捷诺夫), Merger of Kirghiz With Russia, 1959, Moscow, pp. 157-160.

*** Shemiaonov, op. cit., pp. 194-195 and pp. 370-371.

While Shemiaonov was carrying out large-scale espionage activities in our T'ienshan area, there occurred an incident in which the Kokand khanate of Central Asia incited Wo-li khan, a descendant of Ho-cho, to invade our Kashgar. The tsarist government kept a close watch on the development of this incident, waiting for an opportunity to intervene and seize our Kashgar area.

The tsarist government decided (1) to send a "well-trained" military officer secretly to the Kashgar area to gather intelligence; (2) to send more troops to the Kashgar border; and (3) not to refuse appeals for help from the descendants of Ho-cho who were invading Kashgar. Sukhachanete (苏哈札涅特), the army minister, transmitted the decision to Casvrd, who immediately drafted a plan of action to send Russian troops to support the Wo-li khan bandit gang.* However, contrary to the wishes of the aggressors, the Wo-li khan bandit gang supported by the Kokand was routed in less than three months by our army and people, and fled the country. The tsarist Russian scheme to annex our Kashgar area went bankrupt. However, the tsarist Russian aggressors did not give up, but decided to send an "experienced and reliable" military officer to Kashgar to gather intelligence. Finally Chochan Valihanov, a Kazakh who served as a cavalry lieutenant in the West Siberian army, was chosen for the role.**

Before setting out, Valihanov was given a directive by the tsarist Russian foreign ministry which stated that "the object of this mission is political, not commercial...."*** Toward the end of June 1858, in accordance with the plan of aggression, Valihanov in the vicinity of Kopar joined a specially organized Kokand caravan from Hsieh-mi-pa-la-ting-ssu-k'o. The party proceeded toward Kashgar via our T'e-mu-erh-t'u Nor and the upper Na-lun River. All along the way Valihanov secretly noted the terrain, the distribution of different nationalities, and other matters of interest. Through his frequent contacts with people of all classes and strata as well as traders from various khanates in Central Asia, he stole a large amount of political, economic, cultural and military information relating to our six cities of K'a-shih, Ying-chi-sha-erh, Wu-shih, Aksu, Sha-ch'e and Khotan. In April 1859, Valihanov returned to Wei-erh-nei with the caravan. The tsarist government greatly appreciated the information gathered by Valihanov, for it formed an important basis on which the tsarist government formulated and pushed its policy of aggression.

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* Kharfen (哈尔芬), Russian Policy in Central Asia, 1960, Moscow, p. 107.

** This man was a grandson of A-pu-chi khan of Kazakh medium yurt. He graduated from the tsarist Russian military school of Omsk. In 1856-57 he joined the "observation teams" of Khamitovski and Shemiaonov and engaged in espionage activities in China's western regions.

*** Collected Writings of Valihanov, Vol. 1, 1961-1962, Almata, p. 65.

In 1859, tsarist Russia extended its feelers of aggression further into the upper Chu River area south of our Lake Balkhash. At the time the Ch'ing government's frontier defense in this area was very weak. Before the coming of tsarist Russian aggressive influence, the Kokand khanate continually invaded the area and illegally built on the upper Chu River the P'i-shih-pieh-k'o (now Frunze), Tokmak and other forts. Thinking that this was a favorable moment for seizing our territory, tsarist Russia, holding up the banner of "defense against Kokand," extended its demonic hands into our upper Chu River area. In the summer of 1859, an aggressive force led by Vnewkov (维纽科夫), dispatched by tsarist Russia, set out from Wei-erh-nei and travelled down along the Chu River to conduct reconnaissance and harassing activities. The invaders penetrated into our territory to a depth of over 600 versts, surveying the terrain, making relief maps of Tokmak, P'i-shih-pieh-k'o and other places, and collecting a large amount of information concerning our Kazakh, Buriat and other nationalities.* On the basis of findings of this reconnaissance, the tsarist governor of West Siberia formulated a plan for attack against the upper Chu River and built an advance fort at Kaszek Mountain. Having completed these preparations, tsarist Russia in August 1860 dispatched a 2,000-strong aggressive force, equipped with various types of artillery and led by Col. Timairman (齐麦尔曼), on an expedition to the upper Chu River. The invaders attacked and took Tokmak, P'i-shih-pieh-k'o and other places. However, tsarist Russia was unable to make a firm stand on the upper Chu River; faced by resistance of our Buriats in the area, the invaders later had to fall back to Wei-erh-nei. It was not till 1864 that the tsarist invaders occupied the area completely.

In summary, beginning from the 17th century tsarist Russia carried out a frenzied, savage policy of aggression and expansion against our western region. Moving upward along the Irtysh River, the Russian invaders, having seized part of the territory of our Dzungars, continued to encroach on our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash by adopting such aggressive means as building forts, moving in armed settlers, and subverting and dividing the minority nationalities of our western regions.

Having occupied large tracts of our territory east and south of Lake Balkhash, tsarist Russia looked for an opportune moment to "legalize" what it had taken. It forced China to sign unequal treaties, using the accomplished fact of armed seizure of territory.

In 1860, an Anglo-French force took Peking. Taking advantage of the military pressure of the Anglo-French aggressive force, tsarist Russia forced our Ch'ing government to sign the unequal "Sino-Russian Peking Treaty," which defined the general alignment of the Sino-Russian western border, including in the Russian side large pieces of Chinese territory it seized or had not yet seized. Later, in 1864 tsarist Russia, by

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* Kharfen, Merger of Central Asia With Russia, pp. 110-116.

distorting the relevant clauses of the "Peking Treaty," forced China to sign the "Summary of Sino-Russian Demarcation of Northwest Border," by which it annexed more than 440,000 sq. km. of our western territory. These are historical facts.

Today, in their struggle for world hegemony, the Soviet revisionist renegade group, inheriting the mantle of the old tsars, are madly pushing a policy of aggression and expansion. They do not hesitate to call black white and falsify history, alleging that these areas "were never really governed by China" and "never belonged to the Ch'ing empire." Let us ask: Did the old tsars not withdraw one aggressive armed force after another and demolish one aggressive foothold after another as a result of the courageous resistance put up by the Chinese people and protests and representations from the Ch'ing government? Even Shemiaonov, Babukov and the like admitted in their works that the people who lived in these areas were China's minority nationalities. As to who was the aggressor and who was the victim of aggression, the revolutionary teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin had reached a scientific conclusion long ago. Ironclad facts cannot be altered by anyone. The lies and sophistries of the Soviet revisionists can only add a few strokes of ugly paint on their own faces as renegades!

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Anti-Russian Struggle by Workers of 36 Sheds

- A fragment of the history of Harbin Carriage Works

by

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Harbin Carriage Works

and

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(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 3, June 20, 1976)

The Harbin Carriage Works is a factory once inspected by our great leader Chairman Mao. Its predecessor was Harbin General Factory--a railway ancillary works set up by the tsarist Russian aggressors when they built the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1898. Up to the eve of the liberation, this works with its history of 50 years could only carry out repairs and assembly of parts, but could not build locomotives and railway cars. Since the liberation, and in particular through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticize-Lin, criticize-Confucius campaign, the works, like many other factories and mines of the country, has undergone great changes. It has now become a new-type factory capable of doing repairs and building all types of railway carriages.

Published hereunder is a history of the anti-Russian struggle of the workers of Harbin General Factory--the predecessor of the works.

(1) Thirty-Six Sheds Were Products of Tsarist Russian Exploitation and Enslavement of Chinese Workers

In the late 19th century, when tsarist Russian imperialism intensified its aggression against China in an attempt to partition China and then go on to dominate Asia, it was particularly interested in building a railway as an instrument of aggression. By forcing the Ch'ing government to sign a "Sino-Russian secret treaty" and "Port Arthur-Dairen Lease Treaty," the tsarist Russian aggressors won the aggressive privilege of building and managing the "Chinese Eastern Province Railway" (the Chinese Eastern Railway) in China's Northeast region. In 1898 the tsarist government sent a large railway building advance party into China's Northeast region under the protection of an aggressive armed force, "rechecking" the route, finding bases for road building, and plundering the areas and the people along the line.

To solve the problem of labor needed for building the Chinese Eastern Railway, the tsarist Russian aggressors in 1899 began to send agents to Yentai, Tientsin and other places to recruit laborers. According to incomplete statistics, they hired by deceptive means 70,000 men from inside

Shanhaikuan in 1899 alone, and another 100,000 men in 1900. Most of these men became railway building workers for the Chinese Eastern Railway, and some entered the railway ancillary works--Harbin General Factory. Having endured innumerable hardships, the bankrupt peasants and handicraftsmen arrived in the General Factory, where they worked for extremely low wages and lived under extremely miserable conditions, being housed year in and year out in gloomy, cold cloth tents erected on desolate land overgrown with wild grass. To change these miserable living conditions, the Chinese workers constantly waged struggle against the Russian management, forcing them to build some large wooden sheds, shaped like an inverted "V," near the General Factory. Altogether 36 of such sheds were built. That was why people called the place 36 Sheds and the General Factory the "36-Shed Big Plant." At first only single workers lived here. Later they were joined by their families one after another. Helping one another, they built some small earth huts around the 36 sheds, forming in this way a residential area of workers of the General Factory.

The dormitories of the 36 Sheds were simple structures which did not afford the workers shelter against the wind in winter and rain in summer. There were two doors to each shed, one at each end, and these served as windows also. The largest of the sheds were 60 or 70 square meters, but each accommodated 70 or 80 single workers. The smaller ones measured only 30 or 40 square meters, each accommodating at least 40 to 50 men. The whole residential area of the 36 Sheds became a mud pond when it rained. Sanitary conditions were extremely poor, there being not a single public latrine in the workers residential area. In late spring and early summer mosquitoes and flies multiplied and were found everywhere. Infectious diseases were rampant, gravely affecting the physical health of the workers and their families. Thirty-six Sheds was a most miserable slum area in Harbin at that time.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, which the tsarist Russian aggressors controlled, protected and helped a number of unscrupulous Russian merchants, scoundrels and adventurers who operated opium dens and gambling houses at the 36 Sheds to squeeze everything out of the Chinese workers. "There were more than 10 illicit opium peddlers at the 36 Sheds" in 1917. The largest gambling house of Harbin was opened at the 36 Sheds. When payday came, groups of scoundrels would wait at the entrance to the General Factory and at the 36 Sheds. They lured the Chinese workers into gambling dens by every foul means and heartlessly took away from them the money which they earned with their blood and sweat and on which they and their families depended for their livelihood. The Chinese workers angrily called these gambling dens "man-destroying dens."

It can thus be seen that the 36 Sheds were products of tsarist Russian imperialism's aggression against China and its enslavement of Chinese workers.

(2) Tsarist Russia's National Discrimination Against and Oppression of Chinese Workers

The Chinese workers and their families who lived in the 36 sheds were not only oppressed and exploited by Russian capitalists, but also enslaved and persecuted by the series of colonial agencies set up by tsarist Russia in the area of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Apart from using such colonial agencies of brute force as police bureaus, law courts and the secret police organization which they established in areas directly under their control in Harbin in imposing their rule on the Chinese workers of the 36 Sheds, the tsarist Russian aggressors also stationed in the 36 Sheds the "railway protection" military police formed in the areas of the Chinese Eastern Railway in accordance with the "Charter of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company." These fierce tsarist Russian military guards went everywhere night and day and robbed as they pleased. In the name of so-called "maintenance of peace and order on the railway and in areas used by its ancillary organizations," they put people under arrest at the slightest provocation and threw them into goal. The Chinese workers here were thus "doubly" subjected to tsarist Russian colonial oppression. Their situation was indeed miserable.

The rule of the tsarist Russian aggressors over the Chinese workers was extremely brutal. They built a high wall around the General Factory with a barbed wire fence on top of the wall, virtually turning the factory into a big prison. Going to work and leaving work, the Chinese workers had to pass through a low iron gate, where they were often searched by the "railway protection" guards. The great mass of Chinese workers became "prisoners" who had lost their personal freedom. Often they were dismissed without reason. In November 1920 alone, the tsarist Russians laid off 250 Chinese workers in one batch.

To tightly control and enslave the Chinese workers, the tsarist Russian aggressors instituted a system of "wearing work tags" in the General Factory. The system required a Chinese worker to go first to the "Visiting Bureau" to get an "employment certificate" which bore his serial number and photograph before he could be hired. With this "certificate" he could go into the factory, "wear a tag" and work, have his work recorded and be paid for his work. The tsarist Russian manager (chief supervisor) and vice managers (supervisors) extorted money from the Chinese workers by raising the price of "work tags" as they pleased. At one time 350 rubles was asked for a "work tag." Chinese workers newly admitted into the factory could not afford to buy "work tags" at this rate, but to make a living, they had to submit to the exploitation of usurers. The system of "work tags" was a means by which the tsarist Russian aggressors carried out political oppression and economic exploitation of Chinese workers.

The equipment of the factory was simple and crude, and the machines old and heavy. This was a special feature of enterprises run by Russia. Inside the factory it was damp, cold and dark. In these miserable circumstances and under the supervision of tsarist Russian superintendents and foremen, Chinese workers worked 13 hours and sometimes 16 hours a day. As a result, industrial accidents often occurred. The tragic death of Chinese worker Luan Yung-te was an eloquent testimony.

Luan Yung-te was a carpenter. During the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 the tsarist Russian aggressors forced the workers to make emergency repairs to "ammunition trains" on exposed sections of the railway. Luan Yung-te was crushed to death by a train. After the accident, the savage, tyrannical tsarist Russian supervisor, instead of assuming responsibility for the accident, assaulted the Chinese workers who came forward to protest and compelled Luan Yung-te's dependents to remove the corpse. Two younger brothers of Luan Yung-te who were then working in the factory asked the management for "compensation payment." The demand was rejected and the two Luan brothers were persecuted and forced to leave the factory. Such instances were too numerous to recount.

In short, the Chinese workers under the rule of the tsarist Russian aggressors worked like beasts of burden, ate the food of pigs and dogs and lived in prison cells. Whipped by the aggressors, they struggled all day long on the verge of death. Of course, this is only a miniature of the enormous crimes committed by tsarist Russian imperialism in its enslavement and oppression of the Chinese working people.

(3) Struggle by Workers of 36 Sheds Against Tsarist Russian Aggressors

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Tsarist Russian imperialism's savage oppression and exploitation of the Chinese workers was bound to provoke vehement resistance from the Chinese people. Thirty-six Sheds gradually became a volcano at the center of tsarist Russia's colonial rule in China. The flames of struggle that burst out from here kindled fires in Harbin and the vast areas along the Chinese Eastern Railway under tsarist Russian rule.

During the Russo-Japanese war Harbin, at the center of the Chinese Eastern Railway, became Russia's strategic base and a staging area in the East. To force workers of the General Factory to make emergency repairs to locomotives and railway cars that war needed, the tsarist Russian aggressors sent troops to the factory to intensify control on the Chinese workers. On November 14, 1905, the Chinese workers and some of the Russian workers of the General Factory, together with workers of stations and sections of the Chinese Eastern Railway, held a large-scale strike. They demanded that no troops be used to watch the workers, that personal freedom be guaranteed and wages be raised. The proper demands of the workers were rejected by the Russian representative of the Chinese Eastern Railway, who called in fully armed guards to suppress the strike and force the workers to go back to work. The savage tsarist Russian guards opened fire on the workers, causing a bloody incident. This bloody killing all the more enraged the striking workers, who surrounded the Chinese Eastern Railway Company buildings and set fire to them. The strike lasted more than 50 days and dealt a heavy blow to the tsarist Russian aggressors. At the same time, it also tempered the workers and strengthened the unity between the Chinese and Russian workers, laying a foundation for later struggle.

The Chinese and Russian workers of the General Factory, faced by the same enemy--tsarist Russian imperialism, shared a common fate. In the struggle for liberation, they acted in concert and helped each other. When news of the tsarist government's bloody suppression of the Russian revolution of 1905 reached Harbin, the Chinese workers, shaking their fists in anger, vowed to back the Russian workers and give them brotherly support. Accordingly they held a gigantic rally at the General Factory on January 9, 1907, at which they condemned the tsarist government for its slaughter of Russian workers, giving them moral support in their revolutionary struggle.

On May 1, 1908, the Chinese workers of the General Factory, in celebration of "May 1" International Labor Day, further ignited a new fierce fire of anti-Russian struggle. According to a prearranged plan, workers of the General Factory, railway workers, transport workers and workers of the flour mill held a gigantic rally on the north bank of the Sungari River at 9 a.m. that day. At the rally many workers accused the tsarist Russian aggressor of enormous crimes of suppression of workers, which aroused strong reaction from all quarters. The rally lasted more than 6 hours, attended by over 10,000 people. Tsarist Russian armed guards, having got wind of the news, came in force to suppress the meeting, but they stood on the south bank of the river unable to do anything and daring not to cross the river. The strike rally demonstrated the united strength of Chinese workers and other great labor masses. It showed that the anti-Russian struggle of workers of the General Factory had made new development.

In April 1917 the Chinese workers of the General Factory set fire to and burned down a depot for passenger cars to deal a blow to the reactionary arrogance of the tsarist Russian aggressors and punish the major and minor Russian heads of the factory. The fire brigade came to the scene but was unable to get any water from the hydrants, because they had been closed by welding by the workers. The tsarist Russian aggressors watched 15 newly built passenger cars being reduced to ashes, unable to do anything. Holvate (霍尔亚特), the Company's director, was jumping mad but he, too, was unable to do anything. In the end he fired the manager of the General Factory. The burning down of the passenger car plant forced it to suspend work for 8 months, dealing yet another heavy blow to the arrogant tsarist Russian aggressors. The workers of the General Factory, filled with elation, unanimously decided to call a mass rally on May Day that year and stage a parade. On May 1,workers of the General Factory, workers of nearby warehouses, stores and workshops, and some Russian workers assembled in front of the church at Ch'in-chia-kang (now Nan-kang). Red flags flew at the meeting attended by a large number of people. After the meeting, the workers paraded and came to 36 Sheds. "All onlookers along the route of the procession applauded" the action of struggle of the Chinese workers.

After the victory of the Russian October Revolution in 1917, the reactionary rule of tsarist Russian imperialism was overthrown in Russia. However, tsarist Russian remnants (the White bandits) still remained in

China, occupying the Chinese Eastern Railway and areas along the line. Supported by Japanese imperialism, Holvate and his like, who had always been bitterly hated by the Chinese workers, declared "independence" in the railway zone in our territory, and Holvate even called himself "President of the All-Russian Government." Thereupon the Chinese workers came forward to wage even more furious struggle against the remnant forces of tsarist Russia.

In the spring of 1918 the Chinese workers and some Russian workers along the Chinese Eastern Railway started an even larger strike. Locomotive drivers and loading and unloading workers of all stations and sections of the railway, with its center at Harbin, refused to work, disrupting transportation on the Chinese Eastern Railway. "The strike idled 30 cargo trains of no less than 600 freight cars." Later, printing workers and telephone operators of the telegraph office of the railway also joined the anti-Russian struggle.

The workers of the General Factory played an important role in this strike. Their first object was opposition to persecution and a demand for an increase in wages. With the intensification and development of the struggle, they put forward loudly the fighting slogan: "No forcing of workers to repair armored trains for Sheminov (谢米诺夫)." They strongly demanded: "All workers and craftsmen, including Chinese workers, have equal rights." On April 15 they called a meeting together with the railway workers of Harbin, at which it was unanimously resolved to "adopt all possible measures" to prevent Holvate from using the Chinese Eastern Railway to oppose the Russian soviet regime. The remnant tsarist forces, greatly alarmed and knowing not what to do, loudly blamed the Chinese workers for being "persistent in their erroneous ways," threatening that "Chinese who join the strike should be weeded out" and, if accused, "would certainly be severely punished." But these threats and intimidations of the tsarist Russian remnant forces could only heighten the indignation of the Chinese workers and urge them on in their fight for new victories. At his wit's end, the enemy called in a large contingent of armed guards, who suddenly pounded on the workers who were meeting in front of the club house of the General Factory, and arrested several strikers. The irate striking workers immediately hit back at the armed guards of the "White bandits," completely routing them. Then, the workers, carrying the arms they had captured, paraded the streets in a demonstration, greatly boosting their own morale while dampening that of the enemy. In this strike the workers of the General Factory combined their own liberation with support for the Russian proletarian revolution, demonstrating their rapid growth in struggle.

On May 4, 1919, the great May 4th patriotic movement, which was utterly opposed to imperialism and feudalism, began in Peking. Immediately afterward, the flames of struggle spread quickly all over the country. With the development of the May 4th movement, industrial workers all over the country began to ascend the political stage as an independent political force and developed new struggles.

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "The May 4th movement was born at the call of world revolution, the call of the Russian revolution, and the call of Lenin." The movement further spread the ideas of the October Revolution and further awakened the Chinese people. Fed up with the tsarist Russian aggressor's enslavement and exploitation, the Chinese workers of Harbin General Factory, learning of the October Revolution and the situation in which the working class became masters of the country after the revolution, had their class consciousness greatly heightened, and their will to fight became stronger than ever. They developed a new struggle, linking their resistance to the colonial rule of tsarist Russian remnant forces with support for the Russian working class' great struggle to defend the fruit of victory of the October Revolution. In June 1919 the Chinese workers of the General Factory said in a discussion among themselves: "The 'White-haired men' (meaning the White bandits) do not treat us Chinese workers like human beings, they want to squeeze fat out of our bones. The lids of our cooking pans at home are not lifted. How can we endure such a life!" "The Russian workers and peasants have overthrown the tsar. Students and workers in Peking and Shanghai have risen. Shouldn't we fight Holvate?" "That's right! If we are to do it, we should act as we did in our strikes in the past--fight the Russian 'White-haired men!'" After meeting for several days, the demand for an anti-Russian strike soon spread all over the factory.

One evening near the end of June, workers of all plants elected delegates to 36 Sheds and there a preparatory conference for strike was held. At the conference delegates from the various plants angrily exposed and denounced the tsarist Russian remnant forces for crimes of oppression of Chinese workers and counter-revolutionary activities. The conference resolved to launch a strike struggle immediately. Delegates from the various plants unanimously elected Wang Jui, a worker of the wheels plant, and Li Pao, a carpenter of the passenger car plant, as leaders of the strike. Wang Jui said with vehement indignation to the delegates: "There is only one way to live, and that is to fight the Russian 'White-haired men.' The government of the warlords is feeble and can be bullied, but we workers have moral strength. We fight not only for a bowl of rice, but also for the dignity of the Chinese people."

In early July worker representatives of the General Factory presented the tsarist Russian factory manager with the demand that wages should not be paid in the paper money (called "chiang t'ieh") of White bandit Kolchak, but must be paid in silver dollars, and that there should be no forcing of the workers to work overtime. The tsarist Russian manager put up a bold front and said, "Your demands are unreasonable. Don't forget that although Tsar Nicholas is no longer here, General Holvate is still with us and the Chinese Eastern Railway is Russian-owned...." Before the tsarist Russian manager could finish, the angry workers came surging forward and surrounded him, pointing their fingers at the scoundrel and crying in anger: "Shut up! You too must not forget that this is Chinese territory." "Do you accept our demands or not? If you refuse, we will strike!"

On July 8, while the Chinese workers of the General Factory were getting ready to strike, representatives of the striking workers of the Russian Ussuri railway came to Harbin to appeal to the workers of the General Factory and the Chinese Eastern Railway to join their strike so as to deal a joint blow to Holvate and Kolchak. At the same time, Ussuri guerrillas operating in the rear of Kolchak also wrote to the workers of the Chinese Eastern Railway, expressing the hope that they would launch a strike to disrupt Kolchak's most important military supply line and thus help to rout the White bandit forces in the Far East. The letter said, "We appeal to you to halt operations on the Chinese Eastern Railway, even if only for three weeks, so as to facilitate fulfillment of our planned task." Conveying to the striking workers the appeals of the Russian railway workers of the Ussuri region and the guerrillas, Wang Jui said, "Our strength is even greater now. Not only do we workers of 36 Sheds want to strike, but workers of the whole Chinese Eastern Railway and the railway workers of the Ussuri region also want to do the same. United, the strength of so many workers will be a veritable iron fist!" Thereupon, the Chinese workers of the General Factory decided to call a general strike at once together with the workers of the Chinese Eastern Railway, in support of the demands of Russian workers with still fiercer struggle.

In mid-July, strike delegates from various places came to Harbin, held the first conference at 36 Sheds, and formed a strike committee. It was decided at the conference that the signal for the general strike of the whole railway should be given by the whistles of the General Factory at 10 a.m. on July 19.

On the morning of July 19, groups of workers came to the factory, but no one did any work. They were waiting for the signal to strike. When at 10 a.m. the factory whistles sounded, workers streamed out of their plants like a torrent. Some Russian workers also joined in. While the sirens were still wailing, thousands of workers rushed out of the gate of the General Factory. Walking hand-in-hand and side by side, and with their heads raised, they headed for the main street in formidable array.

The sirens wailing, workers of Harbin and nearby stations and sections stopped work. Trains that were running ground to a halt in the tracks. Workers of the locomotive depot at Harbin also joined the strike. Workers of the power generating plant, too, struck in sympathy.... In the street, newsboys cried louder than usual: "News! No. 1 news! Workers of entire Chinese Eastern Railway strike!"

The flames of struggle spread rapidly. Workers of all businesses and trades, students, merchants....joined the fighting ranks one after another. Bills and posters were put up everywhere in the main street and small lanes, calling on the citizens to give active support to the workers in their struggle and jointly hit the Russian aggressors. One of the bills said: "Since Russian workers urgently need support from the workers of our country, we must give them timely support!"

The general strike of the entire line of the Chinese Eastern Railway completely halted railway transportation from Manchouli to Sui-fen River. Trains loaded with military supplies for the White bandit armies packed the Sui-fen Ho station, while large numbers of Czech soldiers withdrawn from Siberia were massed at Manchouli and could not be transported away....

Kolchak was jumping mad, while Holvate was completely unnerved and knew not what to do. They conferred with each other on what action to take, and sent an agent to 36 Sheds to tell the workers that if they went back to work, one-third of their wages would be paid in silver dollar. This trick of the White bandits was immediately exposed by the workers. The soft approach having failed, Holvate resorted to a malignant means. He planned to set fire to 36 Sheds. When the striking workers got wind of this, they organized "dare-to-die corps" of workers who, armed with spears, swords and seven-sectioned whips, patrolled the premises day and night. The enemy's plot to commit arson was foiled.

Prolonged stoppage of operations of the Chinese Eastern Railways seriously nullified the support of the imperialist powers for Kolchak and undermined their plan of armed intervention against the Soviet regime. The Japanese, British, American and French imperialists pressed Holvate to intensify his suppression of the strike. Cornered and not knowing what do do, Holvate took drastic measures. He issued one notice after another to threaten the striking workers, saying, "All workers must go back to work at 8 a.m. July 28. Anyone who fails to report for work will be shot." But no one went back to work on July 28. So he again yelled: "All must resume work by July 30. Anyone who fails to do so shall be given a prison term of no less than three months or banished." The enemy's threats only served to make the angry strikers close their ranks even firmer. They declared heroically: "Our bellies may shrink for lack of food, but our grip on Kolchak's neck must not slacken!"

On August 18--the 30th day of the strike--Holvate of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company was forced to send a representative to 36 Sheds and agree to all the conditions laid down by the strikers for resumption of work.

On August 19 the strikers again held a workers rally in Harbin. While the meeting was going on, a large number of White bandit troops sent by Holvate suddenly pounded upon the workers. More than 100 workers were arrested on the spot. A large number of workers were put on armored cars and taken out of Harbin; among them, 14 were murdered in Heng-t'ung-ho-tzu.

The strike struggle was bloodily suppressed by the enemy, but by their courageous struggle which lasted for more than a month, the workers of 36 Sheds and the Chinese Eastern Railway caused the railway to be completely paralyzed, disrupted an important line of transportation of the White bandit army in Siberia, and shattered Holvate's criminal scheme to give Kolchak support by using the Chinese Eastern Railway, dealing a fatal

blow to the imperialists and tsarist Russian remnant forces. In less than three months--on November 4, 1919--the Soviet Red Army utterly destroyed Kolchak's White bandit army.

In this strike struggle the broad masses of Chinese workers from 36 Sheds to the entire Chinese Eastern Railway, willingly shedding blood and making sacrifices and never wavering in their loyalty, effectively supported the Russian working people in their magnificent fight to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, writing a splendid, heroic chapter to the history of friendship between the Chinese and Russian people.

The courageous, heroic struggle by the Chinese working class of the Harbin General Factory and the Chinese Eastern Railway in opposition to the colonial oppression and exploitation practiced by tsarist Russian aggressors, in which endless fighters from behind immediately took the place of those who had fallen, demonstrated "the unyielding spirit of resistance of the Chinese people who refuse to knuckle under to the imperialists and their running dogs." Their struggle inherited the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people and glittered with the light of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It formed a splendid page of the history of the Chinese people's revolution in the modern times.

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